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AFTER LENINE - W H H I

Trotsky - By Isaac F. Marcossou

IN EACH of the three European countries whose potentialities for trouble need no diagram, there has been one outstanding personality these last years who dramatized the national traits. In Germany, Hugo Stinnes not only thrived on inflation but capitalized the aftermath of the World War. Mustapha Kemal Pasha embodies the new Turkish nationalism that is not without its menace to the Balkans. Lenine and Trotsky formed a sort of Siamese twins that incarnated the red Russian creed. So intimately were they associated for offensive and defensive purposes that when Lenine died thousands of peasants, who thought that they were the same person, wondered how one could live without the other.

With Lenine out of the picture, Trotsky today is the outstanding and compelling personality of all Soviet Russia. Not only is he the most feared and at the same time the most respected individual in Bolo Land, but at the moment he is the center of a storm full of significance for the whole crimson domain. He has rebuked the autocrats who rule the nation. He has questioned the economic policy that is swinging the country back to communism. He has excoriated the bureaucracy which impedes administration and makes industrial production a joke. He has denounced the officialdom that preys upon the administrative structure.

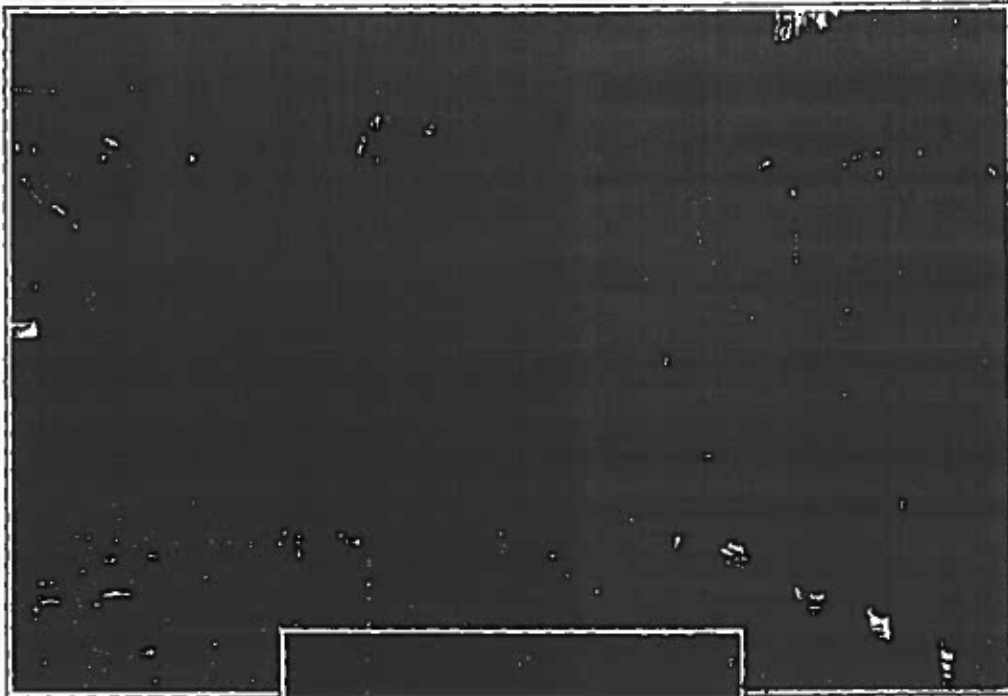
Niagaras of Speech

IN CONSEQUENCE, he has complicated the already acute situation which grew out of the death of Lenine and the inevitable struggle for power among his heirs, of whom he is one. A cabal against him is in full swing. If he beats it he can almost approach dictatorship. If he loses, he is still the Soviet war lord. Whatever the outcome, he remains a character of peculiar and engrossing interest. The story of Trotsky the man, as well as the account of what is happening to him and about him, is the animated record of a considerable portion of Russia in evolution.

I met him in interesting circumstances. For hours I listened to him expound his theories of life and economics. He is not only the liveliest wire in Bolshevism, but in a country where incompetency is the rule and not the exception he represents an efficiency that makes him marked. Like Lloyd George, he does not seem to be a single being, but an institution. He is as many-sided as he is many-tongued, for he is an expert linguist.

None of the figures that loom large in contemporary history is better known than Trotsky, yet his name, with which every schoolboy is familiar, is a hind and a byword to a considerable part of the civilized world. In popular un-Bolshevist conception, alongside him Attila was a philanthropist, Torquemada a humanitarian and Ivan the Terrible a real benefactor of the human race.

Trotsky looks like Mephistopheles, and there are many who believe that the parallel goes farther than facial resemblance. He attracts and repels, dominates and dominates. He is elemental, almost primitive, in his fervor, a high-powered human engine. He inundates you with a Niagara of speech, the like of which I have never heard.



At Top - The Parade on the Red Square. Leo D. Trotsky Saluting the Red Army. Below - A Clean-Up of Trotsky

when he was at his best. While the talk offensive was on, you were almost enthralled by his limpid eloquence. When it was all over, you wondered how and why it charmed you, because, in cold appraisal, what he said lacked substance.

The same thing applies to Trotsky, although his mental equipment—and particularly his knowledge of world economics—is far superior to that of the Nebraskan. Trotsky is the most effective speaker in Russia. When you fall under the temporary spell of his oratory—it is difficult for him to engage in an ordinary conversation without making a speech—you can readily understand why Lenine made him the prize Soviet salesman.

In his public appearances he assumes the rôle of both fanatic and actor. Lenine was always the thinker of red revolution and only a moderate talker. It was Trotsky who enunciated the faith in flaming phraseology. He has something of the self-hypnotism that you so often find among religious zealots, and with it an astonishing faculty of being able to impose his will upon an audience.

The story was told me in Moscow that on the day when...

speeches seemed first with grief, ing down edge of form, he frenzy "We live, & live!" the ve its feet emotio burst. Trotsky lowest, almost precisely the same procedure in shaping the red arm which represent perhaps his greatest achievement. He took a lot of ragged men at a time when the country was without food and other resources and knit them into the compact fighting force that overwhelmed Wrangel, Denikin and Kolchak turn, and the dang white suc Whether hypnot power ganizing he made a army.

As I sat alongside his desk, I could not of my last interview with Kerenky in when that exploded phenomenon occupied of his own people something of the same p Trotsky has today. Temperamentally, they have considerable in common. Each is a who dramatizes himself in everything he

Trotsky's Personal Background

HERE the parallel ends, because Kerenky a victim to colossal vanity, false as utter inability to organize his forces. He hot air, not performance, and lacks driving power. Trotsky, on the other, equally vain, is both organizer and do. gaged on a task, he attacks. He is action. Moreover, he is a master manipulator of his own political and personal ends. Amid the coterie of professional revolutionists—dreamers all—who came into authority with the Kerenky overthrow, he is revealed as the one and only really practical person. Only one other man in Russia approaches him in power of coordination. He is Dzerzhinsky, who built up the Cheka, the dread instrumentality of terror, later got some sort of service out of the railways and is now head of the Supreme Council of People's Economy.

Clearly to understand the events that evolve around Trotsky, and in order to make some adequate measure of the man himself, you must briefly get his biographical background, as well as some idea of what has happened politically in Russia since Lenine's death early this year. So long as the master was alive, and save for sporadic outbreaks, Trotsky remained in line. Once the almost uncanny personal influence of Lenine vanished, insurgency, which is natural to him, broke loose.

Although wedded to communism, he is a stark individualist. After Trotsky had aroused the ire of his fellow rulers, Stalin, in explaining one of the efforts to sap his power, said, "We cannot deal with Trotsky. He is an individualist." In Russia individualism is like majesty.

Trotsky was born forty-seven years ago in the government of Ekheron, in South Russia. His comparative youth, particularly in the light of what is several lifetimes of action, will come as a surprise to most people. Nor is he alone in this, since most of his associates in the government are far from old. Rykoff, the premier, for example, is only forty-three; Kárlin, the president of all Soviet Russia, is



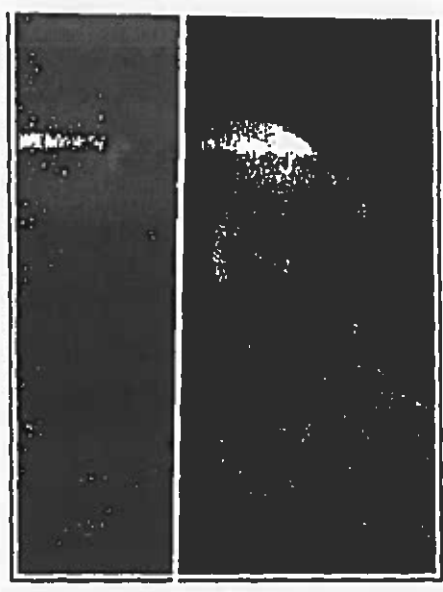
they actually are. It results from the calls of all the others served long terms in prison mines. Others, like Rykoff and I long stretches of solitary confinement, the Bolshevik officials, so far as my not, seem to live at abnormal pressure, in Trotsky.

one of Russia today is that Trotsky, like us among the Soviet powers that be, name. Trotsky was born Bronstein, his name is Leo Davidovich Bronstein. He requires an explanation. In Russia, the name of a son is the first name of his father "vich." Trotsky's father's name was same way a Russian daughter takes name, but adds the feminine suffix and, the daughter of I., would be vna.

Knowing that Zinoviev's real name is Apfel-sat of Radek is Sobelsohn. In most of the Russians have changed their names for the purpose of obtaining noms de plume revolutionary writings, particularly prior name "Trotsky" was first used by him appears alone.

It is to have been wished on Trotsky from his early twenties he was banished to 3-years because of his connection with the Russian Workman's League. In the third he escaped and took part in the revolution which was a failure. Just about this time he was the St. Petersburg Council of workers afterward he was arrested and exiled to Siberia.

With that marvelous facility which later he wriggled out of ticklish political corners, he got away again. During the following ten years he was in France, Switzerland, Austria, Germany, supporting himself all the while by journalism, a trenchant pen and is an apt phrase maker. At the outbreak of the World War he was in Paris editing the Russian socialist paper. He made his way to New York, to Russia after the Kerensky revolution of 1917, when he became Lenin's right-hand man.



Leo D. Trotsky

Trotsky as a Storm Center

...of absurd detail has been circulated about a life in New York. It has been broadcast, for he worked as tailor and restaurant waiter on the streets of New York. He told the world none of these things. Trotsky told the world exactly twelve weeks in New York, and for a brief period he earned his livelihood by writing for some of them expounding pacifism—for a newspaper called *Novy Mir*, which means "New World."

...did on that occasion. The youngster ran up to the men who held his father and said, "Papa, shall I hit them?" He seems to be a child of the original red block.

For some inscrutable reason the British authorities permitted Trotsky to proceed on his journey. It is interesting to speculate on what might have happened had he been detained and therefore barred from the fateful affinity with Lenin that made the counter-revolution of November, 1917, possible and put Bolshevism on a considerable part of the European and Asiatic map.

Now for the storm that beats about Trotsky. To comprehend it you must know that the Communist Party, 550,000 strong, rules Russia, and the Communist Party, in turn, is ruled by the so-called political bureau, composed of Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky, Bukharin, Tomsky and Rykoff. Although he is still a part of this all-powerful group, he has, for the moment, lost the commanding position that he once held in it. The events that brought about the crisis of which he is center, but which have not impaired his popularity with the masses, are illuminating for two reasons. One is that they disclose the

As long as Lenin lived Trotsky was a member of leadership—in his last year he was paralyzed and almost incapable of speech—Trotsky was what American politics would call regular. Except for occasional outbreaks of temper and impatience at the incapacity about him, he bowed to that relentless thing in Russia which is party discipline. During Lenin's last months, Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev—the big three of the machine—constituted themselves the link between the dying premier and the public, paving the way for their ultimate stewardship of the government. They were even able to keep Trotsky away from the man with whom he had worked hand in hand for the Soviet advance. The triumvirate prepared for the inevitable readjustment when the spirit should leave Lenin's racked body. It is a tribute to Trotsky that he was singled out as the one person who would cause them trouble. Rykoff, who was understudying Lenin as premier, lacks force, resistance and vitality. Besides, he is a strict party man.

Organized Opposition

BEHIND what soon became a growing hostility to Trotsky lurked the fear that capitalizing his hold on both the red army and the people, he could make himself dictator of Russia. The psychological moment, of course, would come with Lenin's passing. The apprehension that Trotsky might seek to emulate Napoleon is not new. The rumor that he was preparing himself for overlord has been a hardy perennial since 1919.

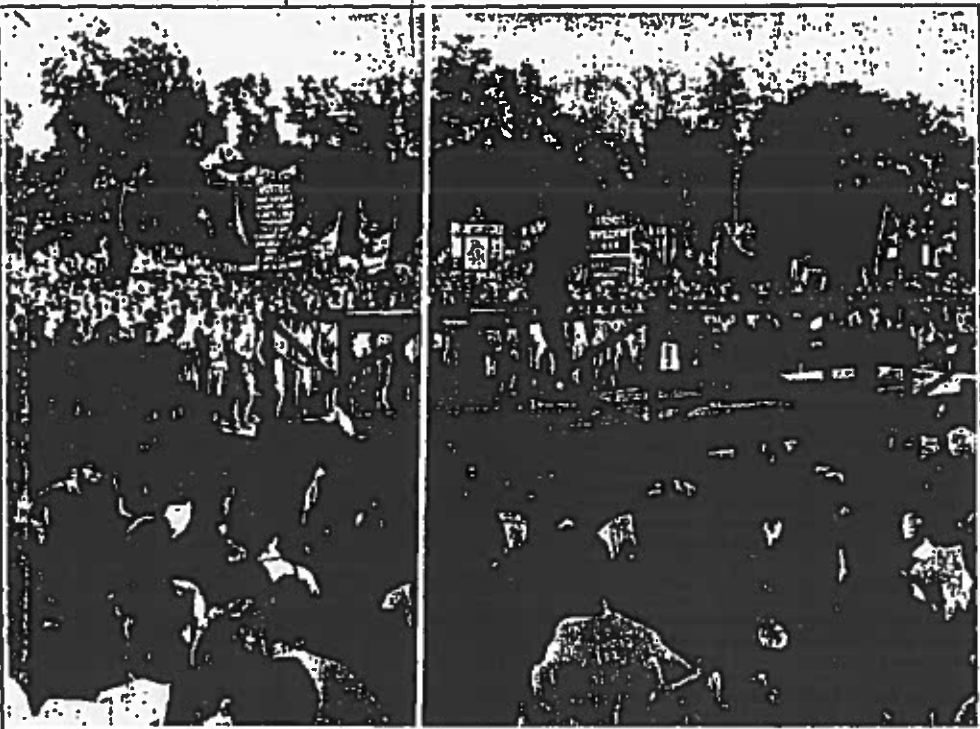
Various well-informed people in Russia told me that but for his Jewish extraction Trotsky might get away with it. This statement may sound incongruous in view of the fact that three of the most conspicuous Russian leaders—Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev—are Israelites, although they renounced their faith long ago. The truth of the matter is that during the past twelve months anti-Semitism has grown to an alarming extent throughout the country, especially among the peasants, who believe that the Hebrews higher up have been responsible for many of their economic ills. The recent pogroms in the Ukraine, in which 70,000 Jews were slain, confirm this statement.

Circumstances played into the hands of the triumvirate. A few weeks before Lenin died, Trotsky suffered a breakdown in health and went to the Caucasus to recuperate. In his absence the political bureau began a systematic campaign to undermine his strength at the War Office. One of his principal aids, S. S. Kamenev—this is a common name in Russia—an able strategist of the Military Council and a loyal Trotsky adherent, was transferred to a distant post and was succeeded by Frunze, the Ukrainian leader, who is hostile to the war chief. Another Trotsky prop, Muralov, who was head of the Moscow garrison, was demoted and replaced by Voroshilov, who had been administrative chief of the grim G. P. U., which has become the substitute for the no less sinister Cheka as the agency of terror in Russia.

When Trotsky returned to Moscow restored to health he found the cabal arrayed against him. He immediately organized the first "New Course" party machine. Among other things he declared:

"In the past eighteen months there has arisen a particular secretarial psychology, the main feature of which is the conviction that a

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Trotsky speaking to Soldiers and Citizens of Ekaterinodar

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(Continued from Page 3)

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From sheep that thrive in the snow

secretary is in a position to decide upon any and every question without knowing anything about the matter. At every step and point we see how comrades, who showed no organizing or administrative capacities whilst at the head of a Soviet body, decide in a dictatorial manner economic and other questions the moment they are appointed to a secretarial post. By the application of these secretary methods the bureaucratization of the party apparatus has developed to an enormous extent. A bureaucracy is unsound and unhealthy."

Putting his indictment of bureaucracy in another way, he said with characteristic aptness:

"The Communist Party lives on two floors. On the upper one decisions are made. Those who live on the lower merely hear about them."

Trotsky also renewed the fight which he had started in 1921 to bring the young Communists in line for succession to high posts. It was another step to break up the clique that ruled. At this point it is interesting to note that Kamenov, one of the strongest of the big three, is Trotsky's brother-in-law. A little thing like family connections, however, cuts no ice in Bolshevik politics.

In no phase of his offensive did Trotsky show more daring than in his assault upon the economic policies of the ruling powers. For two years he has exploited the theory of what has come to be known as the Trotsky scissors. In one of his early pamphlets he drew a diagram showing the discrepancy between the prices of agricultural produce and the prices of industrial commodities. He pointed out that the spread between these two extremes was getting wider and wider all the time.

Speaking about the scissors, he recently declared:

"If the scissors are not closed, it means the breakdown of the new economic policy for the peasants, who form the basis of that policy; it is a matter of utter indifference what are the reasons that they cannot purchase commodities, whether trading in them is prohibited by decree or whether they have to face the fact that for two boxes of matches they have to give a 'pood'—about thirty-six pounds—"of grain."

Trotsky went even farther. He whacked communism in one of its most sensitive spots by suggesting the limitation of the workers' factory councils to matters concerning their working conditions, hours of work and wages, and a substitution of a single manager for the group control now in vogue. He contended that the manager would be expected to remember that his first duty is to increase and improve production.

Bargaining Assets

Still another evidence of how Trotsky aimed at the usual Soviet economic unsoundness was his protest, made in August, against the folly of exporting grain in the face of serious crop shortage and what might eventually mean another famine. Already food prices have soared and much distress prevails. The people need all the home-grown grain.

The principal bargaining asset that the Bolshevik Government has in its business relations overseas is the export of grain. It is essential to a maintenance of the trade balance as well as the advantages obtained through recognition by alien governments. The big three, aided by Krassin, Commissar of Foreign Trade, favor export; Rykoff wavers, but Trotsky maintains that it is the height of folly to oppose the people's wishes and interests. He recommended an increase in the export of butter, timber, eggs, fish and oil to the West and sugar to the East.

The big three, with their willing accomplices, Rykoff, Bukharin and Tomsky, hastened to make reprisal. Working through their control of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party—it corresponds to the American Congress—they reduced Trotsky to an alternate and not a member of the Central Presidium, which functions for the executive committee when it is not in session.

Just to show what they could do further, they deposed Radek altogether from the committee. One of the most brilliant of the

to insist that Germany was not ripe for Communist revolution. He had been on the ground and had made a careful study of the situation. In the face of the incontrovertible facts which were proved by the next German election, the Communist dictators, with their usual determination to bend every agency to their will, insisted that he was wrong. Though this was the ostensible reason for the sacking of Radek, the real reason was that he was a consistent champion of Trotsky's contention that machine rule would eventually spell the doom of the Communist Party.

With tongue and pen, Trotsky continued his campaign for a reorganization of the party along more democratic lines. In any other country such a course, in the face of a machine like the political bureau, would have meant his overthrow. Trotsky, however, occupies a peculiarly strong strategic position; first because he is the idol of the Russian masses, and second, despite the honeycombing of the Military Council with henchmen of the big three, the rank and file of the red army are devoted to him. Any attempt to put him into the discard is fraught with serious consequences, including open revolt. Thus he still has the whip hand.

Such was the situation when I reached Moscow in June. Long before I got there I realized that the human-interest price of the adventure was Trotsky. That it would be difficult to attain I knew, but I must confess I had no previous conception of the spade work necessary. To begin with, Trotsky had announced that he would give no more interviews. He maintained that whatever he had to say he would say in speeches, pamphlets and books. Moreover, his enemies in the government were determined to put every obstacle in the path of anyone who desired to give him publicity. This did not cramp Trotsky's style, for, as I have already intimated, when he wants to put himself or his cause over he can mobilize every known agency for exploitation.

The Approach to Trotsky

Another handicap was the fact that Trotsky is probably the busiest man in Russia. Though he leaves detail to subordinates, he is the type that likes to direct and dominate personally. With his Military Council packed with enemies, it was all the more important that he sit tight on the job. In addition, he is a member of the Council of Labor and Defense, and, despite the offensive against his power, is a part of most of the important Communist committees.

In these circumstances I decided first to line up some of his colleagues on the selling theory that if I made them allies they might help me to reach him. Therefore, after I had met Krassin, Rudzutak, the Commissar of Communications, and Sokolnikoff, who holds the finance portfolio, I asked the head of the press section of the Foreign Office to arrange an interview with Trotsky. Of course I got the usual promise, which in Russia is a long way from fulfillment.

I found that Krassin, Rudzutak and Sokolnikoff were unable to help me. They seemed to be part of a general tendency in high political circles to keep hands off Trotsky. Meanwhile the Foreign Office informed me that I would have to make my remaining engagements on my own.

Now began a campaign the like of which I have not waged since the one that got the first interview with Hugo Stinnes in 1921. That required exactly seven weeks. The one that bagged Trotsky took a month. Though I was engaged in other and necessary work all the while, the head of the War Office was the chief objective.

I mobilized every possible agency, even to the enlistment of a body for the dissemination of news about Russian culture, called the Joint Bureau of Information. My subsequent experience proved that it should have been called the Bureau of Misinformation. However, the man in charge called up—or said that he called up—the War Office every day to find out about the appointment. I went to see him almost daily.

In the meantime, through one of the foreign newspaper correspondents, who at an old wartime colleague of mine, I got a vicarious touch with one of Trotsky's Italian friends. He said he would help, help

awkward questions about the political crisis through which Trotsky was passing. I sent word that my main desire was to write a character sketch, but that I expected him to say something for publication. Once I got in immediate touch with Trotsky I felt that he would be a fruitful source of conversation, and such he proved to be.

The condition imposed reminded me of a similar injunction laid on me by the Japanese Foreign Office in 1922, when I had an audience with the Prince Regent. It was prefaced by an official request that I ask his imperial highness no embarrassing questions. I cite the incident to show the curious Oriental parallel which exists between the Russians and the Japanese. That the Japanese should be so scrupulous about their ruler was not surprising, because Japan is frankly feudal. That in an alleged democracy—a so-called dictatorship of the proletariat—such a request should be forthcoming was amazing. But when you know the Russia of today you also know that it is ruled by an autocracy alongside which the most ruthless imperial order is philanthropic.

Four weeks passed, and every day I way I sought to consolidate my po. As it turned out, the meeting with Tri happened unexpectedly. Luckily for I was ready when the chance came. T way of it was this:

One night in the middle of July I with P. A. Mackenzie, the Moscow correspondent of the Chicago Daily News, I had known years ago when he was Northcliffe's star man, at a little rest that was less fly-bitten than most others. Afterward we walked back boulevard where the proletariat in the evenings to talk and smoke, favorite walk of mine, because I watch the children. I wondered future, born as they were into a world which proscribed the spirit ones that every youngster needs.

Mackenzie suggested that we Jackie Coogan, whose circus film shown to huge crowds at one of the best known and most popular ipal cinema houses. Jackie, by the the best known and most popular ican—the only popular one, I might in Soviet Russia. The people flock him. His advertising posters are a tored that when he wears a cap it is a colored red. Soviet propaganda capita every possible agency.

At first I assented. Then I had a t that we ought to go back to the hotel we did. It proved to be a good hu similar to the one that I had ha weeks earlier when I left the peace, and sanitation of a house in the cou a hot Sunday night and came back cow to find a note from the Forei saying that I could see Tchicheri, mssar for Foreign Affairs, at midr

A Call to the War Office

I had just sat down to read *Tuesday* Virgin Soil when the hotel clerk entered my room, saying, "Comrade Trotsky is on the telephone and wants to talk to you."

The clerk had to come to my room, because, like nearly everything else in Russia, my telephone was out of order during the entire period of my stay. Only one virtue attached to this misfortune. My messages could not be tapped.

Almost before the man knew it I was rushing him down the stairs—I lived on the first floor—for fear that the telephone connection might be broken, and it was. I got him to call up the War Office; and after some conversation in Russian he turned to me and said, "Comrade Trotsky wants to know if you speak German and if you can come alone to his office at half past nine." When I said yes to both, this additional message came: "Tell Mr. Marcosson to come to the main entrance, where a soldier will be waiting for him."

As I drove through the dark streets I wondered what kind of man I was going to meet. He had intrigued my interest for years, and the fact that he held part of the fate of 130,000,000 people in his grasp at that moment heightened the anticipation.

In about ten minutes I brought up at the immense white building, once the imperial military headquarters and now the Soviet Office. At the entrance I found a art-looking officer in gray uniform with a facing waiting for me. He greeted me

in German and escorted me to a large ante-room on the second floor, where another equally smart officer—he was Trotsky's adjutant—also welcomed me in German. I was to learn later that practically every important military official under Trotsky speaks German and in many instances French and some English.

The moment that you enter the War Office you get a hint of Trotsky order and efficiency. Practically every other government building in Moscow reeks with smell and is full of disorder and worse. The Foreign Office, for example, is an unsanitary rabbit warren. The War Office, on the other hand, is spick-and-span. Every guard stands rigidly at his post. Before you meet the man responsible for it you see and feel his influence.

Scarcely had I seated myself when a door at one end of the room opened and I got my first glimpse of Trotsky. He was ushering out the visitor who preceded me and he made short shrift of his farewell.

In a moment he walked toward me and said in German, "I am glad to meet you. Come to my office." In we went.

He wore white canvas shoes and a loose-fitting suit of Russian linen which is much affected throughout the country. The shirt, which was a sort of short smock, had a high collar and patch pockets. There was not the slightest suggestion of the military man about him.

Trotsky is of medium height, with slightly rounded shoulders. His manner is abrupt and aggressive and he talks rapidly. He radiates force and decision. Most Americans are familiar with his Mephistophelean features. He looks much older than he really is, because that familiar tangled shock of black hair is streaked with gray and his face is lined. Eyeglasses surmount the sharp nose. Nothing about him save the swiftness of his movements is more distinctive than his eyes. They seem to burn with zeal. He brought Mustapha Kemal Pasha strongly to mind. Each of these men is aggressively alert and a born dictator with whom ruthlessness is the natural thing.

Trotsky's office, like the building itself, reflects the efficiency of the man. It is a huge columned chamber with high ceiling. On the walls are many maps. The only suggestion of war are two small brass cannons that stand on the top of a filing cabinet almost directly behind his chair. He works from an immense flat-topped desk which is cluttered with books, pamphlets and papers. Yet there was no indication of confusion about it. Every time he had to refer to a document in the course of our talk he knew exactly where to lay his hand on it. This is in sharp contrast with the disorganization of his colleague, Tchitcherin, who frequently holds up all the business of the Foreign Office while he hunts for an important dispatch which at the moment is resting in his inside pocket.

Methods of Work

None of the outstanding personalities that I have met is easier to interview than Trotsky. Once you launch the conversation he talks like a streak. As is the case with Lloyd George, whom he resembles as an imparter, it is only necessary to get him started. He employed German throughout the entire course of our talk, although occasionally he lapsed into French and once or twice threw in an English phrase. Afterward I discovered that save for his native Russian he is more proficient in German than in any other foreign language and prefers to employ it with an alien whenever possible.

In order to start the talk waves and to feel him out, I first asked him to tell me how he worked. As I have indicated, no one in all Russia is more active. Scarcely a fortnight passes but that some book or pamphlet appears bearing his name. He is in constant demand as a speaker and averages about two or three addresses a week. On the top of all this is his work as head of the army and in the various political groups with which he is associated. I therefore inquired how he managed to accomplish so much. His reply was:

"It is all a simple matter of organization. My day is so carefully planned that I can utilize every moment of it. My work really begins at half past seven, when, with breakfast finished, I read the morning papers. I am at my office at nine, when all my subordinates are ready in report to me with

is taken up with conferences. On three days a week I sit in the Council of Labor and Defense. Twice a week I meet with the political bureau"—there was a trace of a smile as he mentioned these words—"and I must give time to various branches of the Communist Party. The only hours during the day that I give myself the luxury of relaxation are from five to seven, when I go home and have dinner with my family. I do all my reading and writing at night."

His last remark prompted me to inquire what he was reading at the moment. To my astonishment he answered:

"Just now I am reading an American book called Babbitt, in Russian. I find it curiously interesting and instructive, although it is too much bourgeois in character. In fact, I see in it a complete record of the American bourgeoisie. In the last analysis, however, Babbitt is no more bourgeois than your John D. Rockefeller, J. P. Morgan or Henry Ford."

I told him that in America we regarded Babbitt as the epic of the flivver. After I had defined what the word "flivver" meant, he remarked:

"I learned a lot about motor cars from Babbitt. The best motors in the world are made in the United States. We have used them in the Russian Army in hard campaigns and they are not equaled by any in service and durability. I have three in mind that I would pit against all others."

Continuing his comment on social America, he said:

"When you analyze America you find that in reality, and I now speak of the social side mainly, it is one great province. Your people are too provincial. In order to realize their largest destiny they must become more and more a part of the work and of the politics of the world."

The Economic Future

I found that Trotsky is a close student of the French Revolution. He has read every available book on it. Despite the hostility of France toward the Soviet Government he has a deeper respect for the French than for any other of what he calls capitalistic countries. During the years of his enforced exile from Russia he lived at various times in France and some of his closest associates have been French communists.

It was not long before Trotsky launched into the world economic situation. Among other things, he said:

"The economic future of the world depends upon the future capacity and activity of the United States. You have a large amount of the existing inventive and productive genius. As I have said before, it can only perform its largest service when it is made universal."

Taking a sheet of paper he quickly drew a chart showing the almost incredible speed with which American industrial production had advanced. Pointing with his pencil to the peak, he declared:

"You will see from this diagram that the United States has witnessed one progressive advance. At the same time she is reaching the maximum of internal development and must reach out. Her curve of expansion points up, but unless she gets more world trade she must retrograde."

"Make a contrast now between England and the United States. England has reached the middle-class expansion through slow and ponderous evolution. It is characteristic of the British that they move slowly. They are smug and self-satisfied. The United States, on the other hand, has advanced with characteristically swift leaps. England has most of her future behind her while the whole world is America's field."

"There is a close economic affinity between the United States and Russia. Like the United States after her Civil War, Russia is a vast and undeveloped domain. Unlike the America of the late '60's, we do not need immigrants; but we need capital, and, what is equally important, the technical skill with which to employ it. We also need what you call the science of business organization."

"Moreover the United States, due to her wartime expansion as well as the natural increase in the demands of such a great country, has a surplus of manufacturers' products and also of grain. This she should export to us and in exchange receive flax, manganese, timber and other products of which Russia is the ideal source of supply. What America needs is what might be called world confidence with which to

confidence" came a characteristic Trotsky performance. He talks so fast that even had he spoken English I would have had some difficulty in following, especially since I had to carry the whole interview in my mind. I did not know the German word *Vertrauen* and asked him to define it. Reaching back of him to a row of books he pulled out a German-English dictionary and found it. Just as his use of a diagram shows that he believes in teaching with the eye, so did the dictionary incident illustrate how he likes to get at the source of things.

On one matter Trotsky made a startling statement. We had drifted into the subject of war. When I asked him what would be the next great struggle, his response was:

"As I see it the next great struggle for supremacy is likely to develop between the United States and England. In such a conflict economics, and not territory, will form the reason for the outbreak. England is jealous of America's industrial advance, but this war will probably cost her dear."

Suddenly he got up and walked over toward a huge map of the world. With his finger he pointed out the extent of the British Empire. Then he remarked:

"The British Empire is much too big. When that almost inevitable war with America comes you will find that practically every British colony or dominion overseas, and specifically Canada, Australia, Egypt, India and South Africa, will line up on the side of the United States, while Japan will probably rally to England."

Let me remark, in passing, that this statement by Trotsky conforms with a line of propaganda handed out in large gobs by the Germans during the World War. I found that whenever I gave a high-placed Russian the opportunity he invariably tried to make some disparaging remark about England and to assure me that she was America's worst enemy.

To return to the interview. Trotsky now made another surprising statement, particularly in view of those years of blood and slaughter since the Bolshevik ascendancy in 1917. In discussing the future of Russia, he declared:

"What America and the rest of the world do not quite realize is that Russia, despite the wide misimpression about her, is the most peaceful nation in Europe. You have only to look into what is going on at this very moment to see the truth of what I say. Germany still seethes with revolutionary protest against French imperialism. Italy is in turmoil and rocks with unrest. The same is true of Spain, while the Balkans, as usual, are far from calm. England is not without deep discords. Russia, on the other hand, is peacefully occupied with her efforts to achieve some kind of economic expansion. This expansion is assured if Russia is not hampered by trespass, boycott and blockade on the part of the capitalistic powers."

Russian Views of America

In contrast with this comment are Trotsky's views on the subject of world revolution, which the Bolsheviks seek to foment. Here they are:

"America is holding, as usual, a particular position. The paces of development of Europe and America were not equal even prior to the war and the inequality has become more pronounced since the war. When speaking about an international revolution we usually imagine it on a rather summarized and general scale. In fact, there will be several stages, separated from one another by a considerable length of time."

"All evidence denotes that American revolution will take place considerably later than European revolution. It is historically possible that the events may assume such a feature that the East will cast off the imperialistic yoke and the proletariat will assume the power in Europe, while America will remain the stronghold of capital. In this sense the United States of America might become—and is already becoming—the basic counter-revolutionary power in history. This might be neglected by Philistines who think of solving the question with an imaginary democratic form of government, pacifistic phrases and similar absurdities. The fact that the war lasted four years was only possible through the special part played in it by America. It was also America that helped the European bourgeoisie to maintain its position. Through the Dawes experts' plan, America

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ated system for enslaving the working people of Europe.

"America is most of all opposed to the recognition of the Soviet Republic. The United States of America is monstrously rich. The American bourgeoisie disposes of unprecedented resources for maneuvering both in the internal and external policy. Taken all in all, it seems, according to evidence, that the victorious European proletariat will have to count with American capital as with an irreconcilable and powerful enemy. The Social Democratic Party—the German one in particular—does everything to glorify the political rôle of the overseas democracy.

"The Social Democrats are frightening the workmen with America's wrath in case of irreverence, while—in case the European democracies are willing to act under command of the American bourgeois—all kinds of blessings are promised. The entire policy of the European mensheviks—the minority—is built upon this. While being already agents of the bourgeoisie, the European Social Democrats are now becoming, through the course of events, the agents of the richest and most powerful bourgeoisie, notably the American bourgeoisie."

"A section of the talk with Trotsky deals in a chapter all its own. It relates to the red army. It has been variously described as ranging in strength from 2,000,000 to 7,000,000 men. One report has it a disorganized horde, while another sees it as one of the best in the world. In order to stimulate the conversation on this more or less delicate subject, I said to Trotsky, 'I hear that you have not only organized a great fighting machine but that every man in it knows how to read and write. How did you do it?'

The Soldiers' Primer

Reaching out on his desk he picked up a small red book that looked like one of those handy French-American dictionaries that you can buy anywhere in Europe. Holding it in his hand, he said:

"This is the best friend of the Russian Army. It is a primer that I prepared and which every soldier must study. It is as essential to his education as the manual of arms. In consequence, every man under the red flag knows how to read and write."

What Trotsky did not mention, however, nor did he show it, was the little handbook of communism which is the real Bible of the Russian Army. Religious faith vies with illiteracy as the target of the teacher. One of the first things impressed upon the conscript is that the church is a delusion and a snare.

The peasants, who form about 70 per cent of the rank and file, find this rather hard to stomach at the start, but eventually they succumb. Acquiescence is the better part of valor in this case.

The important matter, however, is the Soviet fighting strength. On the night I had the interview with Trotsky there were exactly 562,967 men actually under arms, according to his statement. It represented the reduction from 5,500,000 men, which it

The army proper consists of eighteen corps of three infantry divisions each, together with fifteen cavalry divisions of three brigades each. The red army has been particularly weak in aviation. At the time I write there are not more than 700 available planes and a shortage of trained personnel.

Trotsky's plan is to add 1000 new planes every year for ten years. The Russian aviator is far from efficient. I spent several week-ends near one of the principal flying schools, about thirty miles from Moscow. While there I gathered from the neighbors that scarcely a day passed without some serious accident in the air.

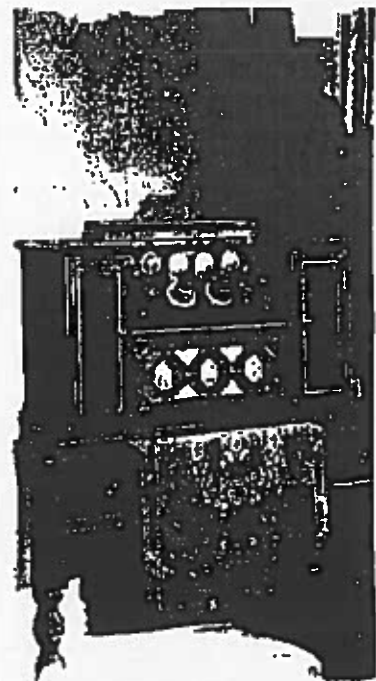
Compulsory Military Service

Trotsky believes in the invincibility of gas, both in political and actual warfare. Shortly before my arrival he organized a department for the manufacture of poison gas. In gas as well as in tank and aeroplane manufacture the red army is able to avail itself both of the skill and experience of Germany. The soldiers have had the advantage of intensive training under old imperial officers, and on parade and in maneuvers can hold their own with the best in Europe.

Despite the utopia which is supposed to prevail, military service is compulsory for all men between the ages of twenty and forty. The duration of service is eighteen months in the infantry, two years in the cavalry, three in aviation and four in the navy. Though the branch of service is not entirely optional, the recruit is allowed to choose his particular wing if he shows a leaning toward it. Even the children get a taste of what is ahead of them, because every boy during his sixteenth year must spend several periods in the military barracks. There are various cadet schools. One day in Moscow I saw a seven-year-old youngster in the uniform of a red private. He even carried a toy gun. In this respect Russia emulates the imperial Germany of other days.

That Russia is not taking any chances on revolution is shown by the discrimination against the sons of the bourgeoisie. Only the offspring of the proletariat are included in the actual fighting forces. The sons of the bourgeoisie are conscripted for service in labor battalions and some branches of the commissary and transport, but in no sections where arms are carried. The inconsistency here is that thousands of old czarist officers have been incorporated into the army. Most of them entered because it was the only guaranty of physical safety and a meal ticket.

I doubt if any army in the world presents such a strange combination of laxity and discipline as the red legions. In the first place there are no officers as we know them. Rank, in the Bolsheviks' view, flavors of caste and imperialism. Therefore instead of having generals, colonels, majors and captains, Trotsky devised a scheme by which the various units have so-called comrade commanders. He himself is the comrade commander of the Russian Army.



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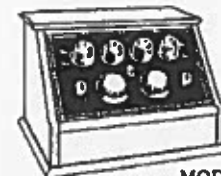
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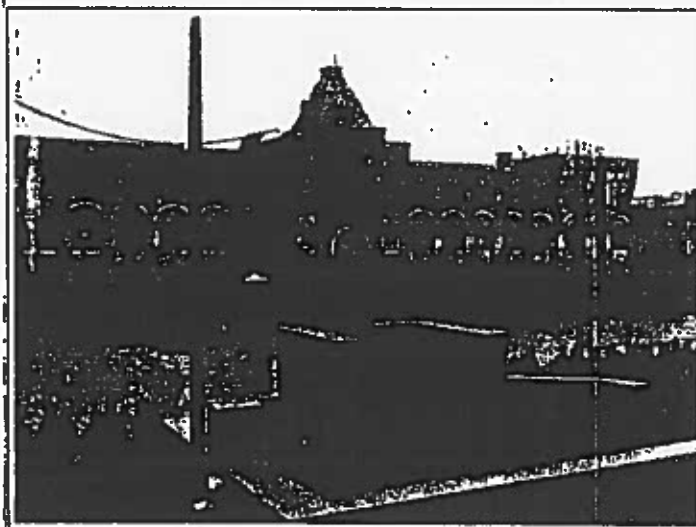
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Trotsky Reviewing the Red Army in the Red Square, Moscow

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The Royalty



- a *casualty* commanding a regiment, and so on. These officers have rank indications on their sleeves, but their uniforms, save that it is usually smarter than those of the *courage* privates, shows very little distinction.

The *spooking* feature of the red army is the relation between officers and men. An officer only receives a salute when the troops are in formation. A private does not salute his superior on the street in the best Bolsheviki military circles. Further, officers are compelled to fraternize with their men as if no rank distinction existed between them. He must join them at cards, indulge in their sports and eat and drink with them. This has proved to be particularly *difficult* in the old czarist officers. They took procedure as *rank* heresy. Economic and other necessities, however, dictate surrender to it. Later on in this series you will see the tragic compromises that people are required to make to eke out a bare livelihood in Russia.

When Trotsky made the point that there were only 562,967 men actually under arms in the red army he disclosed only part of the real fighting strength. In addition to the troops under his command there are three other separate and distinct military units in Soviet Russia with which he has no personal connection. Each has its particular and sometimes sinister work to perform. Each operates independently of the other, although all could be mobilized under a common leadership if the emergency arose. This allocation of forces strikingly illustrates the obvious lack of unity which exists among the various political factions. It means that each has its own private army.

First and foremost among these subsidiary armies is the host that interprets the will of the dread G. P. U., which are the first letters of the Russian words meaning Secret Political Police. It is variously estimated to include from 100,000 to 150,000 men, and operates all over Russia. It embraces infantry, artillery, cavalry, with tank and aeroplane sections. It is a complete army save for the engineering wing.

In a remote way it resembles the famous Foreign Legion of Algeria in that it recruits some of its members from various nationalities. In it you find Letts, Armenians, Georgians, Tartars and Chinese. There is a definite reason. These foreigners carry out the most cruel assignments. The Czar's guard, before his atrocious murder, was composed entirely of Letts. Had they been Russians they might have succumbed to that spirit of nationalism which is instinct to every Russian regardless of his political affiliation, and helped him to escape. Hence the value of having aliens to impose brutalities upon Russians.

Dread of the G. P. U.

This G. P. U. army therefore does what we would call the dirty work of Russia. That part of it which operates in multi—and it comprises no inconsiderable portion—constitutes the *scum* who worm their way into people's confidences and insidiously force some kind of unconscious betrayal. The next thing the victim knows a detail of armed G. P. U. guards are outside his door ready to take him off to a G. P. U. prison. All the prisons are under the amiable stewardship of the G. P. U.

In this oppression by the G. P. U. you have one reason why it is so difficult to get unofficial information in Russia. I once went to the house of a peasant about forty miles from Moscow and asked him how he was faring. Although I was accompanied by an old friend, the man said to me, "I cannot talk. You might be an agent of the G. P. U."

The G. P. U. army carries out the decrees of the various secret tribunals, convoys exiles to Siberia and elsewhere, provides the prison guards and maintains the power of the political dictatorship that rules Russia. In short, it is the branch dedicated to domestic service and in ordinary circumstances would not be used against a foreign foe.

The third military wing is the so-called Kremlin Guard, which is a body of carefully selected Communists. Altogether they do not number more than 5000. They are the keepers of the Kremlin. It is their job to see that undesirable are kept out of this Soviet holy of holies, and that the persons of high government officials, many of whom reside in the Kremlin, are safeguarded.

The fourth unit is peculiarly characteristic of the mystery which pervades official

body of hand-picked Communists. It differs, however, in the fact that the layman does not know the identity of the members. Ordinarily they do not wear uniforms and are kept in reserve for vital emergency use. *They would be the first to be hurled into the breach.* They provide what might well be designated the shock troops of communism.

All together these four organizations with the frontier police, aggregate a total of more than 200,000 men. Then there is the vast number of Russians who served in the civil war against the whites and the Allies, or in the World War, when imperial Russia mobilized 9,000,000 men.

What is the secret of Trotsky's rise to the point where his dictatorship of Russia is establishing the possibilities?

You have already seen how his efficiency achieved the organization of the red army into a formidable fighting unit. His dynamic personality and unpassing driving force attracted to him the best men employed to his advantage. The real source of his remarkable hold upon the great mass of the workers, who constitute the Communist strength, is his gift of oratory. In a country where talk is the favorite sport he stands supreme.

Trotsky as an Orator

I heard him speak on the night following my interview, at a public meeting held in the Conservatory of Music, which holds 6000 people. The place was packed. The Commissariat of Foreign Trade organized it to stimulate some interest in the Russiot, the contracted word meaning the Russian Volunteer Fleet, which was then having a precarious struggle for existence.

It was my first experience at a mass gathering of the proletariat. Most of the men were in blouses and wore no collars, while the women were attired in every kind of nondescript costume in which red, whether in hat, cap, waist, skirt or stocking, was the prevailing color. Some had no stockings at all. As is usual in a Russian meeting, there was a long preliminary wait. During this period the crowd walked about the corridors smoking cigarettes. In Russia everybody smokes, from patriarchs to the six-year-olds.

It was a genuine struggle to get into the hall. I cite this to show the interest that attaches to every public appearance of Trotsky. I arrived on the scene fully an hour before the time set to begin, and the immense open space outside the conservatory was a seething mob. I found that everybody, alien or native, was required to show a passport in addition to admission tickets. All persons who have the right to live in Russia must carry a card of identity of some sort, which is issued by the police. If a man shows up at a meeting without one he is immediately seized as an undesirable. Bolsheviki scrutiny works all the time.

Krassin, head of the Foreign Trade Monopoly, who was chairman, got only a few perfunctory handclaps when he came on the stage. There were five speakers, and Trotsky was the fourth. His appearance was what actors call a good entrance. Here he emulated Kerenaky, for he waited until the three preceding orators had had their dull say. Then, at the psychological moment, he emerged from the wings. He wore the same kind of linen suit as the night before, and walked with quick step to the little pulpit which is provided for the speakers at all Russian gatherings.

Even before he came on the stage there was a tremor of anticipation throughout the great audience. You could get the murmur, "Trotsky comes." With his appearance, bedlam literally let loose.

While the demonstration was in full swing, an American newspaper correspondent of Russian extraction who sat at my left said to me:

"The first time I saw Trotsky was at a Yiddish meeting on the East Side in New York in 1917. He was obscure and almost in want. He told me that the Russian revolution would begin within twelve months."

As I observed the frenzied ovation he was now getting I thought of the miracles that time brings about.

Trotsky talked for three-quarters of an hour. He has the ideal public-speaking voice, for it is so pitched that it never tires or wavers. It is rich, deep and eloquent. Sometimes he bites off his sentences in real Rooseveltian fashion. He is a master phrase maker. He knows how to build up

In speaking of the need of a Russian merchant marine he said:

"It is essential to our foreign trade monopoly. This monopoly is a fundamental law which must be protected and we will have no alternative. At the present moment this monopoly is ours, while the ships of the world belong to our enemies. We will fight until we have what ships we need."

I could give various illustrations of how Trotsky has tried to put over his ideas, no matter amid the welter of incompetence that impedes Russian advancement. Among other things, he organized the so-called League of Time, which he projected as an antidote for the chronic waste of time in Russia. If you go to a bank with a letter of credit and have no pull with the officers, it sometimes takes two hours or longer to get money. The same applies to the simplest engagement. The Russian is never hurried and he assumes that you have as much time to lose as he.

At Trotsky's instigation, branches of the League of Time have been introduced in most of the public institutions, and especially the State Bank, where there is some study of American scientific management methods. In all these groups Frederick Taylor, the American efficiency expert, is the model.

Trotsky's living quarters are four in a building in the Kremlin once occupied by the Czar's aides. His monthly salary as People's Commissar of Defense is 240 gold rubles, or \$120 in American money. Of course he has various perquisites such as free light and quarters. He also has a special train which he uses on his many tours of inspection and speech making.

The Historic Parallel

Trotsky's physical courage has sometimes been questioned, but events scarcely warrant the insinuations made against him. His first name means lion and his adherents have often referred to him as the Lion of Bolshevism. He led his legions in some of the most important offensives against the white armies and through personal example inspired his men.

One of the few available anecdotes about him refers to the critical day when Yudenich and his hosts were almost at the gates of Petrograd. The city seemed doomed to capture when Kamenev rushed up to Trotsky and said, "We are lost! What shall we do?"

Trotsky is reported to have looked sternly and said, "Your name, Kamenev, it means stone—"should be Podulka"—pillow. With this he went out to the fighting lines, rallied his troops and saved the day. If Yudenich had captured Petrograd—it was the high tide of the white offensive—there would probably be no Bolsheviki rule in Russia today.

What of Trotsky's future? In the present crisis, prophecy, always dangerous, is impossible. The situation at the time I write cannot go on indefinitely.

In a sense, it is reminiscent of France during the Terror, for there is a striking analogy between the Bolsheviks and the Jacobins. In 1794 France was just as prostrate as Russia is today, with the difference that the masses were not so ignorant as those of Russia. The fall of Robespierre was not caused by a general uprising. The Thermidor was, to all intents and purposes, a family revolution carried out by Barras against fanatical fellow members of the Committee of Public Safety. This committee resembled the present Soviet Council of People's Commissars—the cabinet—plus the extreme Left of the political bureau.

Trotsky, not unlike Barras, faces two courses. One is to get his rivals before they get him. He has the Young Communists, most of the officers, and the rank and file of the red army behind him. With a swift coup he might get away with it. A famine, with further economic dislocation, would play into his hands, for he alone of all his group seems capable of evolving some kind of national conservation. On the other hand, he has the powerful and relentless political machine, with all the sinister forces of the G. P. U., arrayed against him. They might anticipate his move, annihilate him and face the popular reaction. One thing is certain. The factions that now rule the Communist Party cannot long occupy the same seat.

Editor's Note—This is the second of a series of articles by Mr. Marzouk dealing with Russia. The next will be devoted to the war on it.